131 Eurasia and the ores in the Ural is more than 2000 km; the
487 coal of the Donets Basin, on the other hand, is about 350—450 km from the iron ore of Kryvyj Rih, while the iron and manganese ores of Kerch are nearer still. The seas in the north of Russia are frozen for 20—26 weeks, while the Black Sea has ice for but 3—4 weeks in the year. Most of its harbors can be kept open all winter by means of ice-breakers. The
[161] density of the population in Ukraine is 59 to the square kilometer which cannot be compared with the figures for Siberia (1 per sq. km) or with the average for USSR (8). Conditions in Ukraine, therefore, are much more akin to those in Europe than are those in the continental heart of Eurasia some 4000 km away. And for Ukraine this fact found expression, for instance, in the fact that it could not profit from the reduced railway freights that were granted for long-distance transportation. The unfavorable position of Moscow and Leningrad as manufacturing centers was a great handicap to the economy of Ukraine which possessed all the conditions necessary for production within its own frontiers but nevertheless had to import goods from there and export raw materials to very low prices.

As long as Russia's face was turned towards Europe, these considerations did not matter much, but they are felt all the more acutely now that the economy of the Soviet Union is definitely planned.

8. The Ukrainian idea of economy

421 with its championship of private property was always entirely different from the "mir" idea, with its farming in common and periodical division of the soil which was characteristic for Russian economy. Exceptions within Ukrainian territory, due to special conditions of time and place, do not alter this fundamental fact.
[566] That serfdom should have been abolished so late was felt to be a great burden by the Ukrainian who had enjoyed personal freedom in his days of political independence. He always connected serfdom with Russian rule which naturally did not help to mitigate his aversion to everything Russian.

433 In national Ukrainian literature, the relationship of different branches of economy is often discussed. It is often maintained that up to the present, development has been along the lines of

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

Kharkov, in its scenery and social conditions, resembles rather the neighbouring districts of the Government of Kursk, while in the south-east it is already really part of New Russia.

Climatic conditions on the left bank are rather less favourable than on the right bank of the Dniepr: there is a lighter rainfall which is not so evenly distributed; the winters are more severe and the region of Kharkov endures a distinctly 'continental' climate. Prince Shcherbatov, a former minister of the Imperial Government, writes that: 'One of the most important factors in agriculture is rainfall, which does not always occur under favourable conditions in the Ukraine. Most of the rain comes in summer and often takes the form of downpours which impede work in the fields and harvesting; and in the spring there is often not enough rain. Rainfall is better distributed on the right bank of the Dniepr than in other parts. The difficult climatic conditions in the Ukraine liken the average black earth harvests to average harvests in Central Europe on an average soil.'

During the nineteenth century conditions in left-bank Ukraine tended to favour the growth of a prosperous class of small farmers who supplanted the big landowners of the period of Peter I and Catherine II. These conditions derived from the shortage of labour on big estates which followed the opening up of the New Russian territories and from the wave of speculation which induced landowners to sell out their properties on the left bank of the Dniepr in order to participate in 'the rush' for the new lands. Left-bank Ukraine became a country of large peasant farms covering 10, 20, 30 and as much as 50 hectares, while a number of smaller 'working' landowners retained estates up to 100, 150 and 200 hectares. Land was worth in these parts 500 rubles (about £50 sterling on the pre-war exchange) a hectare.

At the same time the growth of these large farms in the Governments of left-bank Ukraine combined with a natural increase in the population to create a serious problem of 'over-crowding'. In the eighteenth century a numerous class of peasantry had existed who did not own any land of their own at all, but who merely possessed cottages and vegetable gardens and the right to graze their stock on common pasture lands. Following the Emancipation of the Serfs in 1861, the number of landless peasants showed a rapid increase. The small parcels of land allotted to the liberated serfs were soon redistributed between the thrifty and the shiftless; and the division of large estates did not contribute to the establishment of agricultural industries which might have provided a living for the less fortunate. Already in the eighties symptoms of over-population were noticeable

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

previously described.[3] Under the conditions of German repression the nationalist parties could not afford to devote their limited strength to maintaining the initial advantage gained in these comparatively unimportant areas. By 1943, under the impact of rapidly growing Soviet partisan operations, nationalist activity seems to have ceased in Polessia west of the Dnieper.

South of Polessia runs a broad band of territory which falls into the natural vegetation region of the wooded steppe, i.e., a region of mixed prairie and woods. In contrast to the rather poor gray soil of most of Polessia, it is a land well suited for intensive agriculture, and as a result has supported for centuries the densest agricultural population of the East Ukraine.

As in the case of Polessia, the principal dividing line within the wooded steppe region is the Dnieper River. The area west of the river forms the heart of what have been known in Ukrainian history as the "Right Bank" lands. Kiev and the surrounding district had been acquired by the Russian tsar in the eighteenth century, but most of the area west of the Dnieper remained under Polish rule until 1792. The section closest to the river had had a considerable share in the Cossack tradition, but the more westerly sections, which were included in the historic provinces of Volhynia and Podolia, were deeply affected by the independent Cossack movement only during the height of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi's career. This meant that serfdom had a longer and more oppressive history there than in the regions to the south and the east. While the peasants were thoroughly Ukrainian in language and customs, the cities included many Poles and Russians and an especially high percentage of Jews, who comprised from one third to one half of the urban population. This concentration of Jews, too, was a result of the historical background of the region; Poland had tolerated them, while the tsars had forbidden them to leave the Pale formed by the lands acquired in 1793 and later.[4]

Since the "Right Bank" was immediately contiguous to the nationalist bases in the West Ukraine, it was natural that the na-

[3] See Chapter V.

[4] Actually, the Pale included all the Ukraine in the nineteenth century, but Jews were less numerous on the "Left Bank."

troops conquered the fortress of the Ukrainian Cossacks — the Zaporovian Sich. The remainder of the Zaporovian Cossacks migrated to the Turkish province at the mouth of the Danube, and founded there a new centre under the protectorate of the Sultan. The lands of the Zaporovian Army, that had been defended against the Tartar hordes in a fierce struggle lasting for hundreds of years, the Russian Government granted to its magnates, first of all to favourites of Catherine II.

The Western Ukrainian territories, which, by the Polish-Muscovite treaty of 1667, had remained in the Polish State after the dismemberment of Poland at the end of the 18th century, were incorporated partly by Russia and partly by Austria (Galicia 1772). Bukovina too, which had formerly belonged to Turkey, became a province of Austria in 1774. Carpatho-Ukraine had belonged to Hungary since the Middle Ages (cities Užhorod-Ungvar, Mukačevo-Munkacs).

The struggle of the Ukrainians for independence under the leadership of Bohdan Khmelnitsky (1648—57) had abolished serfdom in the greater part of Ukraine. It was the ideal of the masses of the Ukrainian people to live free, independent like the free Ukrainian Cossacks. After the abolition of the autonomous rights of Ukraine at the end of the 18th century serfdom for the Ukrainian peasants was introduced in Ukraine in the Muscovite way. But against this oppression the masses of the Ukrainian people rose often in revolt.

Historical evolution has developed in the Ukrainian people an aspiration for freedom and defence of human dignity. Voltaire wrote in his *History of Charles XII.*: "L'Ukraine a toujours aspiré à être libre" (Ukraine has always aspired to be free). "This is a nation that wants freedom," wrote the prominent Ukrainian writer of the 17th century, the Archbishop of Chernigov, Lazar Baranovych, to the Muscovite Tsar Alexey Mikhaylovich.

The conviction prevailed among the Ukrainians that Ukraine was not dependent on Russia but was only associated in the person of the Monarch. In the political dialogue *Dispute of Little Russia with Great Russia* at the end of the 18th century we read the following words of 'Little Russia' addressing 'Great Russia': "Do not think thou art my lord, but thine and mine sovereign is our common master."

The Ukrainian patriots could not forget the loss of liberty and independence, and looked for understanding of the Ukrainian case to foreign countries. In 1793 the well known Ukrainian patriot Vasyl Kapnist tried to persuade the Prussian Minister Hertzberg